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"BUY LIBERTY BONDS"

# MUGGING THE KAISER

## AND HIS PALS

BY

FRANK URBAN

# WAR! WHY NOT?

## TO SAFEGUARD AMERICAN CAPITAL, INDUSTRY, AND THE RIGHT TO LABOR

BY

JOHN W. BATDORF

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"HELP THE RED CROSS"

# INTRODUCTION BY LOUIS RUBIN

## First Secretary of the National Executive Committee of the AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL ALLIANCE

In the shadows of progress the world is engaged in a cruel and sanguinary war. A universal, reckless sweep of unreason, inspired by German autocracy, is breaking down all the living forces of the soul, leaving it inert, trembling and terrified. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its formidable creations, as this ineffable conflict is relentlessly plucking from the garden of life the flowers of youth and virginity. Titanic in her destructive power, haughty in her dealings, wondrous in her accomplishments of devastation, she would leave the world, which bore the torturous windings of this conquest with the most unpretending valor, a helpless, degenerating ruin. Atrociously criminal, she alone stands upon the pinnacle of depravity. She only in the supremacy of crime hath told us that she has forgotten the obligation to be virtuous; and when we gaze upon brave little Belgium, and war-stricken Europe in general and behold her smitten fields, her ruined cities and desolate homes, we are instantly confronted by these dreadful truths.

Tones of thunder, tongues of flame, are surprisingly impotent in descriptive power when called upon to delineate the horrible activities of this cognate slaughter, which is de-humanizing and deflouring part of the human family. Germany has transformed prescious altruistic instinct for the preservation of others to an uncontrollable mania for revenge, and has wrung unquenchable tears from countless millions of wives, mothers and sweethearts, as the blossom of manly youth is being ruthlessly murdered upon the human abattoir. She loudly applauds all the vice that a degrading slavery engenders by the principles of war. And until the world overthrows this treacherous bond of war-lords, who derive power not from the consent of the governed, but by brutal force, will the world be free to move onward and attain the ideals of ultimate Democracy.

But, ascending from this yawning hollow, shining above the horizon of this universal pestilence, there looms up the energetic, inextinguishable light of Democracy that radiates the path of moral rectitude, informing us that we can firmly and confidently proclaim that the breath of that divinely planted aspiration—the passion for freedom—will prove to be mightier than all the brutally, materialistic strength, and all the prodigious armaments which seem to have laid the world low. With the dawning of Democracy, great, stirring human emotions will vitalize every fibre of her glittering fabric, as the souls of men, women, and children are liberated from the dungeons of warfare's greed in which they have been heartlessly incarcerated by despicable autocracy, shocking their sensibilities and marbleizing their spiritual faculties.

Then shall the human heart, pregnant with a desire for righteousness, and under a solemn consciousness of the sanctity of the flame of life, cry out in protest against a repetition of this most lamentable holacaust, and, by adopting pure and courageous democratic government, make an end of war forever.

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THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL ALLIANCE meets every Friday evening at 8 P. M., at 117 West 132d Street (near Lenox Ave.), New York City, for discussions on the Geometric Tax and kindred subjects. All sober-minded and patriotic persons, interested in maintaining our Constitutional Government and supporting those morals which demand purity and honesty in legislative enactments, holding that Socialism and Bolshevikism are not only inimical but destructive to our ideals of Americanism, are most cordially welcomed.

Send stamps for five books—"War! Why not?" "Dynamic Democracy," "The Menace of the I. W. W." "Americanism" and "Socialism." Ten cents each.

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# MUGGING

## THE KAISER AND HIS PALS

### PART I

We are at war with the most damnable cut-throat that ever lived; with the biggest rough-neck of which history has any record; with the greatest outlaw that ever left his footprints in the sands of time.

This war was forced upon us by an Imperial idiot, by an Aristocratic pediculous, by a Royal lunatic, by a Monarchical maniac—Kaiser Will-Hell of Prussia, the Beast of Berlin, the Royal bum of Germany.

A God-forsaken, heathen-stricken and benighted Prussian Prince, with a paralyzed arm, a diseased brain and a withered soul, has plunged the world into a catastrophe of a hideously grim reality—war.

There can be no substantially abiding peace until this Lucifer of dynamic German Kultur—Schrecklichkeit—is taken by the scruff of the neck and the seat of the pants and his dirty, rotten, stinking, putrid carcass is cast into the Rhine river, or he is hung beneath a Linden tree in Germany, or made a prisoner in Belgium with King Albert as his keeper, or guillotined in Paris.

We will have peace when the moustache of this Satanic vulture is combed down instead of up and the Stars and Stripes shall fly in victory's name from every flag-pole over every castle upon the Rhine.

Old Glory has never yet touched the ground. We have unsheathed the sword for justice and for humanity, in defence of our nation's honor and the safety of civilization. That sword will never be returned until Germany is beaten and might and force are no longer the measure of right. We have never lost a battle. We will and must win this battle. We cannot lose; we have never lost.

Some simple-minded ginks in this country think that the Teutonic Tumble-bugs are going to win because they stick it out so long. Take it from me, the guy who is so intellectually obtuse as to think that Germany will win is a simple-minded boob. We are bleeding Germany to death. Even Macbeth had his Macduff and Caesar had his Brutus. When the war is over Wilhelm Hohenzollern will look like a sick cat that was out in the rain all night. "Die Wacht am Rhine" may yet have to be changed to "Die Schlacht am Rhine."

On what doth this Kaiser feed that he has waxed so brazen, so mendacious, supercilious, presumptious, so egotistic and so rapacious?

Behold him riding on his firey stallion, faster than the fastest horse in hell. There he sits, that hound of hell, on his spirited steed. He addresses the Germanic army, the rapers of women, the massacrers of children, the devisers and users of poison gas, curtains of fire and divers other contrivances of hell. What does this plenipotentiary of hades say to the ambassadors of hell? "I and God are in this battle." Yes! "I" come first and God comes last. "I and God." Did you ever hear of such a ludicrous exhibition of exaggerated egotism? Every time the Kaiser sees the Devil he thinks it's God. Methinks he is afflicted with mental astigmatism, causing him to suffer mistaken identity.

He sits four thousand miles from here upon a vermin-infested throne, beneath a moth-eaten, worm-eaten, mildewed, cankered and louse-ridden crown—surrounded by the Potsdam gang, the Junker pirates, and the Prussian huns. He violently itches with an insatiable ambition to materialize the dream of Hannibal, of Alexander the Great, of Julius Caesar and of Napoleon—the dream of world-wide dominion.

## WAR! WHY NOT?

The Kaiser as a real-estate crook is trying to rival William the Norman Conqueror. This agent of the Inferno has drawn his sword and run amuck and seeks to reign supreme. We are fighting Teutonic militarism, German autocracy and Prussian bureaucracy.

The fundamentals of Democracy are threatened, the essence of civilization has been outraged. Beautiful Venice and peace-loving Belgium have been raped. The grandest works of priceless art have been ruthlessly shattered.

The most magnificent cathedrals have been perforated with German shells. Northern France lies desolated. Serbia, Poland and Roumania are shambles. Russia has been betrayed and seduced by the intellectual legerdemain and the camouflage of German Kultur.

Thousands of our boys are "over there" now. Millions more are going "over the top."

"They won't come back until they're through over there."

Mere prayer will not win this war, applause will not win it, oratorical pyrotechnics and elocutionary paroxysms will not win it.

What we need is life, force, action, spirit, vigilance. In other words, molasses.

If we don't get some pep we will die of the pip.

Our boys are now in action in the very trenches. Some are giving their arms, their legs, their eyes, their blood—yes, their very lives. Every thrift-stamp helps to get a War-Saving Stamp, and that means one more hair out of the Kaiser's moustache.

Every fifty-dollar Liberty Bond means another nail in the Kaiser's coffin. Every hundred means another Hun dead. This is a war against an anachronistic form of government.

We must fight and fight and fight until we win. Those at home constitute the second line of defense. The second line is as important as the first line. The two lines are complimentary. One cannot exist without the other.

Those who cannot wear a uniform and must stay at home have sacred obligations and serious responsibilities to execute. "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people" cannot become a living,

monumental, concrete and international reality until the Kaisers and Queens, the Czars and Sultans, the Dukes and Princes, the Counts and Counts-of-No-Account, and the Royal bums and loafers including the whole gang of blue-blooded, aristocratic, snobbish pieces of monarchical antique furniture are cast in the junk heap and the common man rules.

## PART II

When the governments shall derive their just powers to govern from the consent of the governed, then swords can be turned into plow-shares and pruning hooks. Then liberty will walk the streets of the world bold and unafraid. Then we will have the dawning of the day of international human liberty—the belated coming of the Prince of Peace, the fulfillment of the dream of Tennyson, "the federation of the world, the parliament of man."

But to-day we are fighting to defend the ethical growth of two thousand years. Everything that God looked upon and was well pleased with, is being desecrated and devastated by the hordes of barbarians. The Kaiser told Gerard that Germany would stand for no nonsense from us when the war is over; and by the eternal God, we will stand for no Kaiser when this war is over. The Kaiser broke the people and made war. The people will break the Kaiser and make peace. Think not that this war is only across the big pond. Right here in these United States we have a lot of friends of the Kaiser, who go around with their egg-shaped heads, phony pompadours, melancholy looks, soft-collar shirts and big black neckties, vomiting forth their diarrhetic diatribe. They preach treason and sedition, shout "to hell with the flag" and "to hell with the government." They seek to discourage enlistment and endeavor to encourage desertion. They are as welcome in this nation as a pork chop is in a Jewish restaurant or a beef stew in a Catholic family on Friday. They are the unpatriotic element in this country. A bunch that is ninety-nine per cent patriotic is just like a fish that is ninety-nine per cent fresh. You can only notice one per cent of it and that don't smell good.

That one per cent is the half-starved, brain-shrivelled, lickspittle, blatherskite, mountebank, atheistic, demagogic, Socialistic, anarchistic, pussy-footed, white-livered, chicken-hearted, yellow-streaked conglomeration of hypocritical, intellectual job lots, who plague the moral world like small-pox, and scarlet fever plague the physical world.

Some of these pseudo, shyster, high-browed and crack-brained philosophers were born in this country, but most of them came from foreign shores. They brought with them a philosophy that had its birth in the rat-holes of European civilization.

These offshoots from the pest-holes of Europe came here of their own free will. Nobody forced them to come here. They heard this country heralded trumpet-tongued from the house-tops to the farthest ends and innermost recesses of civilization as "the land of the free and the home of the brave," as "Columbia the gem of the ocean," as a haven of refuge for the downtrodden and oppressed. If they thought that they made a mistake in their choice, why did they not pack up their bag and baggage and go back from whence they came and enjoy the luxuries they had before they saw America?

They came here and they enjoyed free speech, free press and took advantage of our liberties and opportunities. They saved up their money by living below the standard of American living. They lived on a hunk of rye bread, some black tea and a herring. Then they were wont to go on board a ship, put their fingers to their nose and have the brazen effrontery and unmitigated audacity to tell us to go to a place where ice-cream, snow-balls and skating is unknown and impossible.

Throughout this land you will find that species of characteristic, typical Socialistic, anarchistic soap-boxer. The only use they have for soap, is the boxes the soap comes in.

Friends of the Bolsheviki, they are the ilk that claims to have sprung from the soil. They must have taken some of the soil with them when they sprang. The war is over here as well as "over there." If you hear a suspicious remark and witness a suspicious action

on the part of any individual, make a note of the incident, secure the name and address of the party or follow him to secure information as to where such party is located. Send your information to the United States Department of Justice. They welcome such co-operation. The Department of Justice receives a lot of such information. They admit that most of it cannot be used and yet they welcome it because they and not you should be the judge of the value of such information.

The Kaiser has many friends in this country who are faithfully, conscientiously and diligently serving the weiner-wursting, sour-krouting, beer-guzzling, hot-dog gang of Germany.

Who is it that is sending our piers up in smoke, reducing our sugar refineries to ashes, dynamiting munition plants, burning our factories, setting on fire our grain fields, putting glass in bread, putting glass in candy, maliciously and wilfully wasting food, putting cocaine, heroin and morphine in the whiskey given to our soldiers and sailors, and who is it, I ask, that is poisoning our cattle?

It is done by the Huns, by Teutonic spies, by friends of the Kaiser. They should not be interned in prison, but they should be interned in coffins. Any man who says one friendly word for Germany should be shot, hung or sent to prison. We have in this nation a lot of those who have a divided allegiance, a twofold allegiance. They call themselves German-Americans. I mean the hyphenated American; the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde American. The type of now you see it and now you don't. When you think they are, they're not, when you think they're not, they are.

Did you ever go in a street car, or did you ever go out in public and see a fellow reading a German daily paper? Did your blood boil at the sight of it? Did you feel like going over and tearing it out of his hands? Did you ever feel that way? Well, if you did then you are an Americanized American—at least that is an evidence of it. I would not patronize a man who sells German papers. You don't have to patronize a man who sells German papers. Do you think that a man who sells German papers is worthy of the

patronage of loyal Americans? Do you think so? Well, I don't. We want one country, one flag and one language—the English language. We want the good old language of the U. S. A.—we love it and we cherish it. Let us hope to see the day when seditionists and treason-mongers are dealt with more drastically and stringently.

Every person who directly or indirectly interferes with the military operations of the United States, or who by word or act attempts to interfere with the unity, efficiency and integrity of the Allies, should be handed over to the military authorities and if found guilty, should be taken out at sunrise, lined up against a stone wall and shot by a firing squad. Germanism is an insidious disease that runs to the marrow of the bone, sometimes to the third and fourth generation, like syphilis.

The I. W. W.—the Imperial Warriors of Wilhelm—are on the job. Billy Sunday said they were bums. B-u-m, Bum. Of course that is not a pedantic phrase, it might grate on the sensibilities of an intellectual snob, you see; it isn't indicative of a scholarly state of mind. It is a crude colloquialism. It is speaking in the vernacular—in current slang. The dictionary defines bum as a loafer. If a bum is a loafer and a loafer is a slacker and a slacker is a Socialist, then the Socialist is a bum.

Let me conclude with a little poem by Colonel Bunner, the President of the Toledo, Ohio, Stock Exchange. He recited this poem from the Land Battleship at Union Square. It is dedicated to the conscientious objector, to those who act like a lot of colonial dames playing bean bag in a weedy lot back of an orphan asylum. It is not as classical as The Lady of the Lake, or Childe Harold, or The Raven, or The Rape of the Locke, or The Ancient Mariner, or The Song of the Shirt.

"This is the tale of the mob I saw
Trying to defy the conscription law.
Bums in front and bums behind,
Bums of every conceivable kind.
Bums that were poor and bums that were rich,
Bums that were dirty and bums with the itch,

Socialist, anarchist, slacker and sneak,
Faces impertinent, brazen and weak;
Eager and anxious to hide behind
Any old skirt of any old kind,
Massed the steps of the City Hall,
Crowding and pushing until ready to drop,
Not an Irishman present excepting the cop."

So let's get on the job and consign the whole bunch into oblivion; let's relegate them into the limbo of the unknown; let's send them into innocuous desuetude. Now that we have stripped the Kaiser to his nakedness, revealing his true inwardness—this is the MORAL:

If the Kaiser is fifty per cent Mephistopheles and fifty per cent Lucifer cemented with brimstone—where does he get off?

## PART III

These are tempestuously bellicose days. All hands are needed on deck. We want no shirkers, no slackers, no pikers and no rummies. What is requisite at this moment is action. The problem before us is a most simple one. Shall the accumulated moral growth of the ages survive and thrive, or shall an atavistic horde of cave philosophers obliterate such achievement.

It is pathetic to note the existence of Rip Van Winkle sophists who seem to be utterly oblivious to the appalling predicament confronting us. This nation is plagued by cloud-soaring theories advanced by bumptious venders of intellectual poison-gas bombs.

This gas was made in Germany. It was hatched, concocted and reared in Heidelberg University. It was labelled Socialism, and the Devil was well pleased and all hell smiled because it was made in Germany. Its meritricious adornments cleverly concealed its ultimate purpose. On the day of its birth the Emperor of Germany dined with his Satanic majesty. They winked at one another, occasionally they smiled, they talked at length and the pact was sealed.

It was agreed to spill Socialism around the world. Pacifism was to be its keynote.

"Peace, Peace, Peace! Nations of the world, lay

down your arms!" That was to be the litany of this wolf in sheep's clothing.

Socialism waxed fat in Germany and with it militarism grew faster and ever faster.

Socialism continued in its cleverly and fiendish designed plan in preaching peace, peace, peace.

Socialists of Germany boasted that the Kaiser could foment no war, command no army, and that he was taken as a joke.

The Kaiser with his sense of humor encouraged their delusion by the fact of his silence.

Then the psychological moment arrived and Germany heard the bugle of war.

The conspiracy of Hell and Berlin were productive. The nations were not prepared. Germany, the strongest Socialistic nation in the whole world was the most highly developed military monstrosity.

The consummate genius of German Kultur was summoned. The German people had developed within themselves a form of unconscious gullibility which found its source in the servile state. This gullibility was fostered further by the fact that German Kultur cultivated a fetichism of an obsolete form of government which was based upon the pseudo doctrine that the Kaiser was a relatively historical necessity.

The net result was that we were caught like rats in a trap.

But the secret of our strength lies in our ideals. Ideals that are not founded on a mess of pottage guaranteed by a servile state.

Germany is confronted with the inflamed spirit of fighters whose ideals are those of a free people and liberty-loving nations.

A certain species of anthropoids so typical prior to the advent of this war is rapidly becoming extinct.

The Pithecanthropus Erectus is indeed a quite interesting specimen in paleontology. But just before that ultra-mellow pimple of the Hohenzollern family took occasion to spill his puss of barbarism, we were sorely plagued with a tribe of mentally debilitated mutts, and remnants of driftwood.

We had with us the fop, the simp, the prig, and the coxcomb. We had with us that yellow-stain-fingered, crimp-stick sucker who was wont to stand at the street

corners, smoke Meccas, eight rides to heaven for a nickel, and spit at an angle of forty-five degrees.

His education in reference to a philosophy of life was acquired from such imperishable classics as Diamond Dick, Buffalo Bill, Jessie James, Luck and Pluck, Work and Win.

Then, also, we must not forget that talcum-powdered, marshmallow-nosed, super-selfconscious damsel. The article that's powdered and puffed, padded and painted, rouged and shellaced, white-washed and calcimined, varnished and enamelled, with penciled eyebrows, tinselled eye-lashes, bella-donna eyes, spit curls, fly-by-night beauty spots, rats, switches, phony tresses, fake curls, even such as she, is emancipating herself from the spineless and vapid frivolity of a purposeless existence.

The painted doll is vanishing. War with its atmosphere of a serious demeanor is making extinct the fluffy-ruffle type of a veritable imitation of an Egyptian mummy. Myriads of those whose appearance suggested that they had been prepared by an undertaker—really they looked uncanny—the kind that if you kissed them you'd be apt to die of painter's colic or lead-poisoning; these are all a vanishing set.

The black-sheep of the family, the good-for-nothin', has become good for somethin'. He is in the army or the navy. He's a man's man now. He's a man amongst men now.

The girl? Oh, she's selling thrift stamps, or she's active with the Red Cross. She too is doing her bit. It's the makin' of a man and the makin' of a woman.

The whole country is assuming a distinct, martial and military atmosphere. We are all agreed that the Hun must be canned and that we will have no peace until we put the kibosh on the Kaiser.

We will have abiding peace when the Von Hindenbergs, the Von Tirpitzs, the Von Hertlings and the Von Bernstoffs have the aristocratic part of their name deleted—when we cut off the V-O-N. Their names will be deleted when their forces are depleted.

The days of Germany's defeat will be the hour of social redemption for the German people. Perhaps our beloved President Woodrow Wilson will then help them to establish a democratic form of government—

yes, indeed, if need be, we might even loan them Teddy for a while. At this moment, however, it is quite idle to indulge in speculations. The immediate task at hand is war.

That we are at war is a known fact to almost everyone, yet there are a few bipeds who act as if they were not wise to this fact. Really, some folks are so antediluvian, it would not be a surprise to me if they did not know that the Civil War was over. Then again, it seems to be a fashion amongst a certain class of people—a sort of a cussed habit—to speak of the prime Hohenzollern oasis as the Devil's disciple. I reckon they mean by that that he's "some hell of a feller."

Did you ever listen to a mentally debilitated mutt who vapors his commentaries in the form of surmises that the Kaiser will win?

Of course, you've heard of the beggar on his way to Vanity Fair. Then also, about the hobo with not enough Indians to nip a bloke in a Bowery somnolence emporium.

But say! By the way, did you ever accumulate a eustachean tube full of Cardinal Wolsey stuff? Remember how in despair that guy threw up his hands and said something about, "Oh, my God! Why hast thou left me naked and alone in this world?" Imagine the Kaiser. Talk about naked and alone! Why, he won't have a shirt to his name when the war is over.

We mean business. Long enough did we suffer humiliation, because we are a peace-loving people.

We were too proud to fight. Ah! But mark this and mark it well, we were not afraid to fight.

We were too proud to fight in the sense that our faith in the ethical development of civilization was so great that we hoped to come to an understanding by reason of instead of resorting to physical force.

But we had it revealed to us that we could not settle matters that way with the author of a deluxe edition of paganism and the ne plus ultra of savagery.

Promises were broken. Notes were regarded as scraps of paper—a sort of papier-mache. The Kaiser took up the sword and he shall perish by the sword.

Moral—He who spills a mess he can't wipe up will get the dirty end of the stick.

# SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

## A Reply to Hon. Meyer London, of New York

## SPEECH OF

## HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,

### OF ILLINOIS,

**In the House of Representatives, January 11, 1918.**

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with some hesitancy that, without any preparation, or even with most careful preparation, I enter into a discussion of these matters with a man who has on so many occasions in this House demonstrated himself to be a master of debate. [Applause.] I have listened with great interest to the scholarly address of the gentleman from New York [Mr. London]. We have been fortunate in having in this House, whenever we have had representatives of the Socialist Party, scholarly, capable, pleasant gentlemen, and the gentleman from New York is the peer of any of them in those particulars.

The difficulty about socialism is that as it presents many of its propositions you can not disagree with them. With unalarming advance socialism proceeds in this country and the world, holding, always, every position it gains. I am unwilling to agree with the position that the gentleman takes so positively and with so much force, that the principles enunciated in the President's message to this country and to the world, proposing terms of peace, were discovered by the Socialists of Russia, or were discovered by the Socialists of any other country in the world. Prior to the opening of this awful war, before the invasion of Belgium, 600 peace societies were at work in the civilized nations of the world, every one of them proclaiming as fundamental principles those 14 or 15 propositions contained in the President's message. Our own Declaration of Independence proclaims the right of peoples to govern themselves, and that is the principle which underlies the several peace propositions submitted by the President of the United States; first of all, the right of nations, great or small, to govern themselves and to work out their own destinies. And then there follows, as a matter of course, if that principle is to be recognized in the world, the principle that the nations must disarm, in order that none of them may become strong enough to threaten the existence of smaller and weaker nations. The Socialists of Russia, in announcing these propositions, discovered nothing new; and the fact that a few days later, or about the same time, Lloyd-George, speaking for Great Britain, announced substantially the same propositions, and that a few hours later the President of the United States announced, in substance, the same propositions does not prove that any priority of discovery rests with the Socialists of Russia.

I have been interested in his discussion of this subject to-day, because the gentleman from New York [Mr. London], with splendid ability and profound scholarship, goes back to the propositions announced by Karl Marx, the greatest of all socialists, and calls attention to socialism in its international aspect; without an international character socialism can not succeed in this world.

And now I want to call the attention of this House to the remarkable advance of socialism among the nations of the world, and of socialistic theories here in these United States. The differences between the parties as at present organized and as this war proceeds are absolutely academic. There are no tariff differences worth mentioning in view of these great questions which loom upon the horizon of the nations. The world is being made over in the fiery ordeal of

war, and after this world war closes you will see in this country, in all probability a realignment of parties, greater and more pronounced than occurred during the period of the Civil War and after the Civil War to meet these new issues. Socialism tenders the greatest of all of them. The time is approaching in this country and in the world for the nations and the statesmen who lead the thought of the nations to determine whether or not socialism is the correct theory upon which nations shall conduct themselves through the centuries to come. Now, let us see how far we have proceeded in this country in the direction of socialism.

The gentleman has discussed Russian socialism in its international aspects. The gentleman is not in harmony with the expressions of his own party in this country or in Germany; and if socialism in this international aspect means what these propositions indicate, the propositions which it is alleged they have submitted to Germany, then there seems to be no apparent present international danger from the spread of socialism. But within the boundaries of Russia as they existed recently socialism is developing and developing with a wonderful rapidity.

We must remember that 80, and perhaps 90, per cent of the people of Russia are illiterate. They are not to blame for that. They are struggling through illiteracy—let us hope the millions there are struggling toward the light. They believe they are. I remember as I stand here some of the facts of Russian history. I remember that during the early centuries of the Christian era the Slavs, protected by the towering heights of the Carpathian Mountains, slowly developed and spread over Russia, without any organization, because they did not need any organization; without any head men, without any chiefs, without any central organization of any kind, because they were in no danger from their neighbors. Rome had extended her boundaries as far in that direction as she cared to extend them, and under these circumstances and without any sort of a government the Slav nations developed until they spread over Russia. Then there came the failure of the Byzantine Empire, and the necessity for protection against their enemies; and the socialistic theories which prevailed then, although they did not call it socialism and had never heard of its principles, of course were unable to protect them against their enemies. They invited the Russ, the Norsemen of the Baltic Sea, great blond warriors, who came down there at their invitation, covered with iron armor, and built castles outside of their villages, and exacted a military tribute. And then, following the advent of the Russ, there came the Tartars, and then the Muscovite kings, and from that developed the Romanoff régime, which lasted until a recent period, and which cemented these vastly different types of people at least into one great nation.

The situation in Russia to-day is this: Ninety per cent of the population, an illiterate population, following a few dreamers, have thrown off the Russ, the Tartar, and the Muscovite king influences, and have harked back to the ninth century, when they had only village organizations, and nothing else.

### Principles upon Which All Russian Factions Agree.

As I stand here I recall the principles upon which all elements in Russian politics to-day are united, including the Don Cossacks, who are small land owners. They stand united upon these three propositions: First, the giving of the land to the peasants; second, the distribution of the profits of industrials among the workingmen; third, the compelling of the well-to-do to pay all the expenses of the Government. In harmony with the latter proposition, they have confiscated the deposits in the banks of Russia, with the guarantee only that the smaller deposits will be protected for the smaller depositors. And if we are to believe the reports which reach this Capital City, they have

confiscated even the deposits in the banks placed there by this Government to maintain in their capital city an embassy representing the greatest Republic in the world. These tendencies are not encouraging.

### How Far Have We Progressed in Socialism?

Now, let us see how far we are proceeding in this country in the direction of socialism. It may be all right in its international aspects according to present international world politics, as explained so ably and so clearly by the gentleman from New York [Mr. London]; but as an interior force within the nations it is obtaining its expression in Russia to-day, and we know what it means. I am not ready to agree to the spread of socialistic theories, so far as I am concerned.

Now, let us see how far we are progressing in that direction. We have taken over the railroads with the approval of all their employees, and with the vociferous and apparently unanimous approval of the owners of the railroads themselves. And the fact that the owners of the railroads approve the taking over of the railroads is evidenced by the fact that they are so anxious to acquire more and more of the stock that the stock is increasing in value almost by leaps and bounds. The employees of the railroads are all for the proposition, because they expect larger compensation for their services. The owners of the railroads are in favor of the proposition because they expect from their investment a larger and a more assured income.

The millionaire owners of railroads, the million or more employees of railroads, are proceeding in the same socialistic direction, demanding more and more compensation, and expecting it now to be guaranteed by the Treasury of the United States or paid out of the Treasury of the United States. We sit here to-day face to face with the proposition that one-fifth—certainly one-sixth—of the adult voting population of the United States are either directly or indirectly on the national payroll, and that you have here the power to increase or decrease their compensation. I know of no railroad employee, I know of no Government employee, who does not want his compensation increased. They are willing, all of them, that it be done out of the Treasury of the United States, and there is no definite objection or protest against this by any party or any definite section of the population of this country. All of them apparently stand for it, and that is socialism, of course.

We just agreed to a resolution a few minutes ago in this House which means the ultimate ownership and control of the water-power possibilities in this country by the Government itself. In 50 years from now it will mean it, they say, and if Government ownership proceeds to gather momentum with the rapidity that it has in the recent weeks it will not be long until we take them over. We are already controlling the distribution of the coal supply. It is not logical to control the distribution of coal unless you control also the coal mines of the country. The owners of the coal mines will not object, and the millions of employees who work in the mines will not object. If you take over the coal, why not take over the copper mines and the iron mines? The owners of those mines will not object, because it means that under our theory of government we must compensate them. We can not confiscate their property. They are willing to be compensated and to live without effort on their part their lives hereafter, their compensation insured out of the Treasury of the United States.

If you take over all these things, why not take over the instruments for the distribution of intelligence? That is the logical thing—to take over the telegraph and telephones of the country. It is just as logical to control them as it is to control the Postal Service of the country. You will find that the owners will not object; they will be satisfied, because it means an easy income for them and for their

children, paid out of the Treasury of the United States as long as they may live, or an adequate lump-sum compensation for the taking over of their property. **And so we plunge along, being irresistibly drawn in this country into the very maelstrom of socialism.**

The Government can do any one thing better than any one private individual or any one group of individuals. The Government can control the railroads better than private individuals. The Government can control the telephone and the telegraph better than private individuals. The Government can do any one thing better than any individual or any aggregation of individuals can do it. But when the Government commences to do them all, what sort of a situation are you up against?

### How Socialism May Come.

When the Government commences to control all these things, with the approval of all the employees of these industries, with the approval of all the owners, then that party which favors the perpetuity of Government control and ownership when this war ends—that party which pledges its unequivocal support of these things—will win in the elections, of course. There will be enough voters believing themselves to be compensated out of the Treasury to make it possible for that party to win, and when that party wins under these circumstances socialism has arrived in this Nation. Then there comes these other things to which so large a portion of the people of the United States seem to be chaining themselves without knowing it—a different method of holding land—perhaps it will be a single-tax system or a method of communal ownership. **If everybody is compensated by the State, then there must be a confiscation of private property and private incomes.** All of the parties in Russia, including the Don Cossacks, have declared against private ownership of any kind of property. The Don Cossacks, in their resolutions a short time ago, as announced in the papers of this country, say that confiscation of land applies only to the large estates, that estates as large as they own will not be taken. **And so we plunge along on this perilous road without setting any danger signals.**

I have heard able socialistic speeches made upon the floor, none abler than the gentleman from New York [Mr. London] can make; but I have never heard a Member of Congress during my long period of service here who has had enough courage to rise in his place on this floor and express dissent from any of the propositions or tendencies to socialism in this country, and the time has now come when you must do it or submit. We must do the things we are now doing in order to win this war. When the war ends it is going to be a difficult matter to maintain our methods of government as they now exist and as they have existed from the days of the founders. It is going to be an easy thing to sink into socialism with all that socialism may mean to the people of the country. **While we are making the world safe for democracy we must not make it safe for socialism.**

### Is the Socialist Party Loyal?

I do not want my friend from New York to "throw anything at me," and I am sure he will not say that I am a "demagogue" if I question the loyalty to this Government in the present crisis of the party he represents here in this body. So I am simply going to read from recent declarations as expressed by them in their emergency convention held here in the United States just after we declared war.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. RAINEY. I prefer not to yield now.

Mr LONDON. I would ask the gentleman as a favor to yield to me at this moment.

Mr RAINEY. I will do anything for the gentleman as a favor except to agree to follow the gentleman in his socialistic career.

Mr. LONDON. The word "recent" in connection with the war will not be applicable to that statement. That statement was adopted a short time after the declaration of war—a few days—in the excitement in the change of the national situation.

Mr. RAINEY. The gentleman is right. When I said that it was a recent declaration I did not mean that. I meant, and I think I said, that I am about to read the declaration of the principles of the Socialist Party in the United States, which immediately followed our entry into this war, and it was made while the declaration of a state of war was being discussed and unanimously approved by the loyal citizens of the United States. Mr. Speaker, the Socialists are splendidly organized; they can get their conventions together quickly, and the 200 men who assembled in that emergency convention to prepare a platform for the Socialists of the country, in the dangerous emergency which confronted this Nation, spoke for the Socialists of the Nation, and they have had no further meetings since in which they have revoked their position or their doctrines. These are their serious pronunciamentos, the planks in their war platform. With reference to our recent declaration of war, with the news still going over the wires every day that in violation of all moral law, in violation of all treaties, in violation of all laws of the seas, Americans were being murdered upon the seas, in spite of the fact that at that very moment great ships with the American flag painted upon their sides were lying at the bottom of the British Channel, sunk by a treacherous enemy, while claiming to be our friend, they said in this convention of theirs, referring to our entry into the war—and I quote the exact language:

**Our entry into this war is a crime against the people of the United States and the nations of the world.**

That is what the Socialists of this country stood for then; that is what they stand for this day. I have heard no repudiation of that principle from the gentleman from New York [Mr. London], who represents all the Socialists in the United States here in this body. Is that consonant with loyalty? Will any loyal body of the citizens of the United States agree to such a proposition as that? With the spectacle of bleeding Belgium, of unfortunate Serbia, presented to us, with the news of the outraging of women and the murder of children coming to us every day, while the red glow of the burning villages of Belgium covered the skies, they say that our entry into the war was a crime against nations. A crime against what nation? Was it a crime against unfortunate Belgium? Was it a crime against bleeding Serbia? Was it a crime against the people of northern France being cruelly murdered by the merciless invaders? The proclamation proceeds, and I quote again the exact language of this latest Socialistic platform in the United States:

**In all modern history there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to engage.**

I know my friend would not charge me with being a demagogue. I do not say such expressions are disloyal. It is unnecessary for me to say that—it is unnecessary for any loyal citizen to say that—but that language speaks for itself. It spoke for itself at that time and has spoken for itself throughout the months that have passed since it was first uttered.

I proceed to read again from this latest platform of the Socialist Party of the United States. They proceed then to pronounce against the delusions of so-called defensive wars, they say—and I quote again:

**The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is a struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression.**

In other words, the Socialists of these United States are pledged by this platform against the war. They are pledged by this platform to engage in no war except a war which permits them to take up arms against their own exploitation here in this country and against the

political oppression which they may find here. Many of them came here from the oppressed sections of other countries and they seem to have become leaders of the Socialists of the United States, and they come here claiming in this convention that the only fight the Socialists of the United States will make is a fight against this great Government; that they will take up arms in this Nation for the purpose, and for the purpose alone, of overcoming the present method of doing things here. Now, is that loyalty to this Government or is that disloyalty? You know and the country knows what that is, and I am not here for the purpose of designating what that is.

Any patriotic citizen of the United States knows whether that sort of an argument, whether that sort of a platform, is loyal or disloyal. **It comes as near grazing the edge of treason as any expression I have heard in this country from any one man or from any body of men. And so, unless we are careful, this world menace of Socialism, plausibly proceeding and gaining ground slowly and in an unalarming manner, is the real issue of the future.**

## Present and Future Issues.

We have been divided here in the United States upon the question of the tariff. We never got out of the protective tariff more than the sum of $333,000,000 a year in the peak year of the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. We attempted to reduce the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill to $280,000,000. As a matter of fact, in our peak year under the Underwood bill, until the war interrupted its procedure, we got $225,000,000 a year. A tariff bill can be arranged by imposing maximum rates upon all schedules which will yield $400,000,000 and that will not mean protection. It will mean that certain schedules must be lowered. It will not mean free trade, but will mean certain schedules must be higher, but as compared to the stupendous budget which will confront this country when this war is over the question of a protective tariff for revenue only is from a standpoint of revenue absolutely negligible. If this war continues three or four years longer—and it will in all probability—if this war continues that much longer we have staring us in the face, if we retire a billion and a half dollars of bonds a year, and we must retire that much—we have staring us in the face an annual budget of, how much? An annual budget of $6,000,000,000, and the $80,000,000 of tariff fluctuation we can get for the Treasury or take out of the Treasury is absolutely negligible.

If the parties in this country as at present organized continue these mock battles of theirs upon issues which are now absolutely academic, upon little issues that do not deserve consideration in this present great age of the world—when the world is being made over—if they continue that sort of course, they will find confronting both of them the specter of socialism in this land as well as throughout the world. The question is, Are you ready for it? Do you stand for the things that Russian socialism—and that is the only nation that has ever had an opportunity to express itself upon this question—do you stand for the things they stand for in Russia, or are you opposed to them?

**Do not deceive yourselves. The old order is changing in the world. These new issues are presenting themselves with great force, and they must be met. And it is the province of the political parties of this country to express themselves along these lines and to get ready when this war is over to lower the floodgates; to return, if they can, to the sane methods of holding property; to adhere to sane methods of holding land; to reestablish and maintain the methods of administering the affairs of the people of this Republic under which we have prospered and progressed—the methods which have prevailed in the world since the birth of the modern state.** [Applause.]

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# MENACE OF THE

# I. W. W.

## SENATOR KING SAYS BOTH LABOR AND CAPITAL FACE PERIL FROM CRIMINALS WORKING FOR NATION'S ENEMIES

The New York Times Magazine, September 2, 1917.

In the West the I. W. W. has been most active. From a Western man, William H. King, United States Senator from Utah, comes the sternest arraignment of that organization hitherto uttered. Utah, as is well known, had to face the I. W. W. menace at the time of Hillstrom's execution, and probably no man of prominence in this country is better posted on the doctrines and activities of the I. W. W. than the Senator, who has studied these doctrines in order to expose their danger to this country. How seriously he regards that danger is presented for the first time below.

Mr. King, though a new man in the Senate, has won recognition there because of his direct and fearless way of meeting issues. It was he who was prompt to counter on Senator La Follette's recent "peace resolution" with a resolution that "the Government of the United States will not make peace * * * until the German Government shall have acknowledged and expiated its crimes and shall seek terms upon which it may be admitted to the community of civilized and enlightened States. * * *"

When asked what he considered the peril of the I. W. W. to be, Senator King answered:

"Perhaps there is no greater menace to the internal peace and domestic tranquillity of our country than this diabolical association. It is difficult, in view of our standards of civilization and the Christian ideals and ethical concepts of the American people, to comprehend how such a malignant growth could fasten itself upon our industrial system. However, we find in nature the strange paradox that extremes sometimes meet; and so, in society and in Government, the righteous and the progressive forces are often clogged by dark and destructive elements.

"Numerically the I. W. W. organization is not strong. I do not think its membership exceeds 50,000, and yet its name has become a source of terror and fear, for the same reason that a mad dog in the crowded thoroughfare, or a murderous maniac at large, might terrify a large community.

"I say that it is a treasonable organization. This is not overstating it, because it is giving aid and comfort to the enemies of this Republic. Its leaders and members defiantly announce that they will commit deeds of violence, and assail the very foundations of the Government and of society. They attack in subtle and in open manner the industrial life of the nation to bring about the result that there will be no resources for military organization or preparedness, so that this country may be prevented from giving any aid or support to the forces of the great nations with which we are united in an effort to defend liberty and defeat Prussian militarism.

"The members of this organization have no interest in this Government or in any Government. Indeed, they disclaim any nationality. They know no flag except the flag of revolution, and no emblem except that which stands for murder and the most savage depravity. They refuse allegiance to any country, deny the authority of any Governmental agency, and desire the destruction of every form of authority or Government, national and municipal. Having no flag and no country, and wishing the overthrow of this great Republic, they are doing everything within their power to prevent the nation and the people from mobilizing their resources, developing their industries, raising armies and building navies, and taking effective steps to vigorously prosecute the war.

"If German troops were upon our shores they would furnish information that would aid in their efforts to subjugate our people. If they can communicate any information to our enemies that would aid them in their efforts against us they will willingly impart it. Indeed, their plan is to do everything possible to hinder and prevent the prosecution of the war; to sow the seeds of internal revolution; to spread sedition; to inflame the passions of the ignorant, and to demoralize and disorganize all of the forces that make for law and order.

"The evidence seems to be very strong, though more or less circumstantial, that members of the organization are in the employ of Germany. Certain it is that many of them are supplied with an abundance of gold, and denounce this country and speak approvingly of Germany. In some sections where Austrians were employed the I. W. W's. urged them to strike, using as an argument, among others, that they were producing materials which would be used by the Allies and by this country against their countrymen in Austria. In several instances these appeals were effective and resulted in serious strikes and disorders. I feel sure that the Department of Justice, which has been diligent in protecting the interests of our country and our people, has a mass of evidence supporting this view, and upon the trial of some of these I. W. Ws. indubitable evidence will be produced connecting members of the organization with German intrigues.

"The members of this criminal species find their way into the industrial circles and among all the laboring classes. Their purpose is to compel by threats or other means all laborers to strike, in order to arrest all of the forces necessary to the life of the nation. They attempt to close every mine, shut down every factory and manufacturing plant, stop every train, prevent the planting of all crops or the reaping of the harvest. They declare that they are a revolutionary organization, and that the question of right and wrong does not concern them, their methods, or their aims. They boldly declare, as a part of their creed, that the interference of the Government will be opposed by open violation of the Government's orders, and they advocate the use of militant and 'direct action,' by which they mean the use of force and violence, the employment of every weapon to destroy Government, paralyze industry, and demoralize society.

"They see in this world war an opportunity, as they believe, to bring about their plan of destroying all government and capital, and of seizing whatever there is corporeal or physical in this world. In pursuance of this nefarious design they destroy property by the use of dynamite and in an incendiary way.

"They have been especially active in their efforts to shut down the copper and lead producing mines of the West. They appreciate the imperative necessity of our Government, not only for its own uses, but for the use of the nations with whom we are co-operating in this war, procuring immense quantities of copper and lead. Accordingly, they invaded peaceable mining camps where high wages were paid and general prosperity existed, and by violence, intimidation, seditious utterances, and poisonous, treasonable efforts, they caused thousands of miners to leave their employment, as a result of which mines have been shut down and a chaotic condition produced.

"The agricultural districts were invaded and the torch applied where unsuccessful efforts were made to prevent the harvesting of crops. Every bridge and tunnel of our land, and particularly in the West, has to be guarded by armed soldiers against the treacheries of this criminal class, who would destroy them and thus prevent the operation of the trains and halt the transportation forces of our country. They would, if they had the power, destroy all bridges, railroads, and ships.

"They terrorize the honest wage earner, and do not hesitate to assassinate him if they cannot secure his allegiance by other means. Life has no sacredness to them, and it does not stand in the way of the accomplishment of their designs. They openly teach murder, and they defiantly advocate the destruction of property and the overthrow of government.

"Their organization, under any and all circumstances, is a menace to organized society and government, but it is particularly deadly in a crisis such as confronts our nation today. In order to carry on the war successfully our fields and farms must be productive; our factories must be operated to their full capacity, and every resource of the people must be employed in the most efficient way. We must produce and produce still more. This means organization, union, co-operation, domestic tranquillity, and contented, patriotic, enthusiastic people in all the broad land.

" 'Sabotage' is a word employed by them, and they urge 'sabotage' as applied to our vast industrial machine. As they employ the word, it means intimidation, coercion, and any means necessary to gain an end; it means the throwing into the delicate machinery of the industrial organization any foreign substance that will destroy the machine. This foreign substance is generally force, violence, or murder.

"They declare that by revolution and violence capitalism must be destroyed and all of the industries of the world surrendered to them. They proclaim that there is a guerrilla warfare as well as a battle; that the battle is between two opposing forces and must culminate in the destruction of human government, organized society, the ownership of property, and our civilization. It is not higher wages or improved conditions for the laboring man for which this organization is striving. It is admitted that whatever demands are conceded by employers today others shall be made tomorrow; that whatever agreements may be entered into they should be violated; that instead of orderly development and harmonious relation between employer and employe, there should be revolution and no amity or freindly co-operation.

"Some people entertain the view that the I. W. W. organization is seeking the amelioration of the condition of the laboring man, and there has been some sympathy in certain sections for members of this organization. As stated, such is not its object. The people might as well know exactly the character of the association. It as bitterly assails the laboring man who believes in labor unions, in government, in law and order, in the Christian civilization of the day, as it does the man who employs labor.

"If 50,000 men should meet together in some public square in the City of New York, and there openly and synically deny the existence of a God, of all moral restraints, of all standards of ethics or righteousness, and should proclaim eternal opposition to the sanctity of marriage and the building of homes and the assumption of the obligations entailed by the rearing of a family, and to all forms of government, either municipal, State, or national; and if they should further declare that they intended to shut down every factory, close every store, prevent the operation of the street cars, take possession of the city, deprive owners of their property, whether large or small; and if, following these declarations, they did attempt to carry them into effect, and did close factories and plants, and turn men out of employment, and cause violence, strikes, murders, arson, and the wanton destruction of life and property; and if they further attempted to take possession of the Government, and made war upon those who were attempting to preserve peace and order, and, finally, they

succeeded in reducing everything to welter, chaos, and ruin, then some idea might be obtained of the plans and purposes and methods of operation of this hideous, malevolent association of the I. W. W.

"So far as I can learn, the overwhelming majority of the membership are aliens. It was stated in some of the newspapers that of those recently deported from Bisbee, Ariz., one-half were Mexicans, and a considerable number were Austrians, and only a small proportion were native-born Americans. They are nomadic, houseless, and homeless. They have no family ties; no habits of thrift or sobriety, and, in every sense of the word, are utterly at war with our institutions, our forms of society, and our industrial and Governmental life. They resent those habits of industry and thrift which are regarded as virtues among all decent and civilized people.

"To I. W. W. members there is no God, nothing infinite, immortal, or eternal. We are in a blind world of chance without design and without purpose. Order, union, law, government, wholesome restraint, religion—all of these words are meaningless to them, and the forms, influence, and powers behind them, and accompanying them, are the objects of their hatred and implacable fury. Of course, such a creed will attract to it the Godless, the wicked, the corrupt, the criminal, and all those whose brutish instincts rebel at decency and right thinking and right living. And so most of the I. W. Ws. are vagabonds and tramps. They are the flotsam and jetsam on the tumultuous sea of life. Many go from the penitentiary to the I. W. W. organization, and many go from the I. W. W. organization to the penitentiary—and more should go there.

"It is singular, but we find some bitter opposition from the I. W. Ws. to trade unions as to the capitalists, so-called. The result, of course, must be that the members of the labor unions cannot be, and are not, in sympathy with the I. W. W. Trade unionism fosters, as the I. W. W. says, industry and the belief that there is a common interest between the emlaboring people and seeks to have industry, peace, and order and proper ployers and the employes. Trade unionism brings stability among the development. The true laboring man is anxious for the perpetuity of society, the maintenance of good government, and proper growth and development in all of the activities of trade and commerce. The I. W. W. proclaims the abolition of the wage system and declares that capitalism must be destroyed. One of their principal teachers says: 'The question of right and wrong does not concern us. * * * All opposition, so long as the wage system lasts, is but an armed truce. At any favorable opportunity the struggle for more control of industry is renewed.'

"It is obvious that such an organization is an outlaw. It cannot exist in a country where property rights are respected, where law, order, schools, religion, industry, business, progress, and civilization are found. It is difficult to deal with this menace, but the situation today calls for vigorous repressive measures. Already the Government is moving to repress the activities of its leaders and to prevent its treasonable and lawless course.

"The secretary of the organization, Mr. Rowan, was recently arrested, and doubtless others will soon be brought before the bar of justice. I think it should be said that perhaps some of the followers of this revolutionary movement do not quite appreciate the inherent viciousness of the system and the ultimate end of its preachments. Of course, the person cast from society, one whose crimes have isolated him from society, would naturally gravitate to an organization which aimed at the destruction of society. A man without conscience--the cold-blooded murderer—would seek comrades among an organization teaching such abhorrent doctrines.

"A few years ago a number of the members of the association came to the State of Utah. One of their number, named Hillstrom, with one of his associates, committed a foul murder. After a fair trial he was convicted and executed. The courageous Governor of the State, William Spry, refused commutation of his sentence, and members of the organiza-

tion attempted to assassinate the Governor. The executed criminal became an idol of these outlaws, and a number of them followed his ashes as they were carried through the streets of Chicago and glorified his death and the wicked cause with which he was identified.

"A number of measures supplementing existing law are now pending in Congress that perhaps may aid in dealing with some of the activities of this criminal body. One of the bills which I introduced provides that if two or more persons shall conspire or combine together to oppose the execution, or to impede the operation of any law of the United States, or to intimidate any officer or person charged with the enforcement of any law of the United States; or if any person or persons shall counsel, advise, or incite by words or statements, whether spoken or printed, sedition, riot, insurrection, or unlawful assembly, to oppose the execution or enforcement of any law of the United States; or if any person or persons shall advise, counsel, persuade, or incite, or shall utter words or statement which shall tend to persuade or incite any person to break any contract with the Government of the United States, or to break any contract which has to do with the production, fabrication, manufacture, or transportation of any article, commodity, or thing for the use of or intended for the use of the United States, he or they shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment.

"This bill is aimed at the activities of the I. W. W., and seeks to punish them for their efforts to paralyze the arm of the Government and prevent it from prosecuting the war. I hope a broad and comprehensive law will be enacted that will more effectively aid the Government in its efforts to protect industry and labor and to punish and overthrow, if possible, an organization the objects of which are so grave a menace to the foundations of society and government."

# GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

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The Federal Convention of 1787 wrote into the Constitution but four of the five natural principles which pertain and govern political, economic, industrial, business, professional and private life. These four principles are centralization, conservation, preservation and concentration. The laws of nature centralize everything; nothing can escape its power. From it comes conservation in order to preserve what has been produced by centralization. Those who control it, naturally abhorring distribution, want to carry it on to preservation, and finally, under the immutable law of sequences, it lands into concentration for the benefit of the few who control the autocracy of power.

Jefferson, because of his early struggles on the then frontiers of Virginia, and with his early writings in mind, as the Bill of Rights—the first ten amendments to the Constitution, which were added in 1791, contended with Hamilton that the fifth principle—distribution—should be an additional amendment with the other ten. Because of the spirit of Aristocracy, then ruling, Jefferson lost, and from this fact, as there is not one word, and never was, in the Constitution placing distribution in governing power, we, during the 126 years of Constitutional life, have gone in turn from production to conservation and then on to preservation; now we face the precipice of concentration, which means, by the authority of history, death itself.

Our industries are now practically concentrated into corporate industrialism, backed and supported by its affinity— congested wealth. Hence, we have had vigorous and insistent protests from the anarchy of democracy, Socialism, which naturally and consequently ends in such organizations known as the I. W. W.

Beyond the war itself and what is to come after the war, no subject has so much interest to the people at large as that of Government ownership, and, co-ordinately with it, the question of how to raise $8,000,000,000 by taxation. The war makes both of these questions not only relative but inspires cogent reasonings in discussions, and when one of these questions is brought up the other enters, too, for settlement.

The profiteering by the corporations gives pregnancy to the thought that by raising prices on commodities, and then by taxing profits, a great sum of money can be gained for revenue to support the Government to win this war. But, assuredly, this operation is placing a tremendous tax on consumption, and *in an open manner,* too, which, in the very nature of things, will bring about a reaction on patriotism; on the administration which today holds the confidence of the people; and upon the membership of the present Congress now so united upon legislative matters to win this war. And to win this war we must give our all, no matter what legislative burden is placed upon the backs of the people.

The people are bearing the strain of war under the present law most nobly, and this is one of the precious accruments coming to the people because of this unhappy debacle of war. But the question we wish to put, Will the doubling of the tax gained by the Bill of October 3rd, 1917, all of it in the last analysis calling for additional taxes placed on consumption, break the backbone of the present confidence existing among the people? We should say yes to this question, because the element of hope for a lower cost of living has been left out in the proposition presented. But by installing Government ownership by the plan outlined in the Geometric Tax proposition, the nation will not only raise the money by cheerful giving, but install hope and reinforce patriotism, too, in the hearts and in the souls of the American people. No thought except that of hope will fuse the varied peoples of all nations assembled here and make of us one people in fact as well as in name.

The people, however, have assented to, and the Government has instituted many Commissions to control public utilities, and now discussion is on in earnest to provide a proper plan to give to the people the benefits and accommodations needed by them. Because of this many people, newspapers and politicians are advancing the theory and ideals of government ownership, and making them so attractive that the American people may obtain a false conception of what this kind of government rule might mean.

Many books have been written giving the description of what has been done in this movement for government ownership by other nations, and, for this reason, it is unnecessary for us to give a history of what has been accomplished in Europe, Australia and New Zealand. It is our privilege, however, to place before the American people what powers they possess to bring about an American plan for government ownership in those industries which are now, and may be in the future, incorporated under the laws of State and Nation.

The statute laws of the States contain the power to give to individuals the right to organize corporations. When a group of three or more persons apply for a State charter, the necessary legal instrument to organize a corporation, they practically agree with the State to abandon their private business right (except the right to elect the Board of Directors) to govern their new business authorized by the charter granted by the State, and to accept the power of State laws instead, to publicly control the business of their corporation. American citizens must begin to understand that where the State controls, the meaning of which is that the people control, the individual citizen in the business established under the corporate law has no power of control over it except what the laws of the State gives to him. While under the laws regulating co-partnerships and personal business, the citizen has certain inalienable rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution to conduct a private business as he thinks wise and best, but the trouble comes in when prosecuting this form of business, that the

obligation of contracts in section X of Article I, makes him personally responsible for all debts and contracts entered into. Besides the desire to create and carry on the larger business, and which could be better developed under corporate laws, the group of persons not only take advantage of the corporate law to transact business affairs, but, in addition, it gives to them freedom from personal liability for debts and contracts created. This proposition is unquestionably immoral and has had everything to do to lower the moral standard of personal obligation for debt. Instead of going to higher levels in business honesty, the tendency today is surely descending to the level where the contract is made with duplicity, and by a legal quibble, finally stands only to be broken at will.

# TO SAFEGUARD AMERICAN CAPITAL, INDUSTRY, AND THE RIGHT TO LABOR

All classes of people, because of war and the economic reconstruction which is now taking place all over the world, must now recognize that the governing conditions as they existed before the war are forever gone. The era of the nineteenth century is closed and it only remains for history to record what happened in the most glorious era of civilization. The coming century will unquestionably add luster to the world's history, but it must come because of the natural advancement of the human race, not so much by concentration but by the way of Jeffersonian principles of de-centralization.

The ideals of Americanism emanate solely and alone from the Federal Constitution. Up to October 12th, 1776, America was governed by the ideals of Aristocracy—that of landlord and tenant. On that immortal day, never to be forgotten, Thomas Jefferson, member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, introduced a "bill to enable tenants in tail to convey entailed property in fee simple. Two days later he reported a bill doing away with the whole system of entail . . . and the cognate principle of primogeniture followed assailed by the same vigorous hand." This date, October 12th, 1776, stands as a monument and as a milestone in American history, dividing the ruling power of Aristocracy from that of the Democracy of Americanism; first under the democracy of the Continental Congress, and second under that of the Federal Constitution, written in 1787 and adopted in 1789.

Government ownership and what form of taxation to be assessed are bound to be the most vital questions of the coming era; and before we can accomplish the slightest advancement we must recognize some cognate facts. (1) Men who will form corporations and men now interested in the present corporations must realize that capitalization rests upon the sound base of actual capital, capital represented by cash or real property, capital which must be tangible and can be inventoried by tabulation and not by the guess of intangible good-will which the corporation never owned. This great question of who owns good-will must now be settled and agreed upon before any advancement can be made. At the present time, corporations are in a quagmire of distress and doubt as to their standing before the laws of the land and before the people—the powers that are supreme to hold and control the regulations under which corporations must be financed, operated and conducted.

The reason for the situation, in which the corporations now find themselves, is that because of the fact that the good-will of the buyer has been the agency to pay in full the stock shares of corporations, a false basis for capital has been created, and which must end in either the bankruptcy of capital or the impoverishment of the society over which it maintains a monopoly to compel it to pay tribute for the renewal of capital. What we mean to declare is that in the first instance society has permitted the promoters of corporations to take its buying power value to pay up its proposed capitalizatoin, and second the corporations, by the power of

monopoly to make prices, have steadily increased the cost of commodities in order to pay dividends upon watered capital. By binding the members of society to pay a dividend upon their own capital value, and if the dividend openly or secretly amounts to an average of ten per cent. annually, then, by the laws of mathematics, every ten years a full one hundred per cent. has been taken from society, regardless of the natural depreciation society suffers by its impoverishment.

Calculations based upon natural and well-known geometrical increases and decreases, i.e. where one power rises geometrically its antithesis or opposite power must fall in the same proportion as the other rises, show what is life to one power means death to the other power upon which it feeds. Therefore, if the American nation permits a ruthless class to take over proven geometrical calculations, embodied in financial and business dealings to impoverish the balance of population, to "get-rich-quick," then, the American nation, with its tremendous and ever-growing population, by its folly, would see the overturn of the inverted pyramid so built, and plunge the nation into a vortex of anarchy and destructive war.

The future holds possibilities that wiser men in industrial, financial and economic discussions will grasp these twentieth century ideals based upon truths and incontrovertible facts, and present declarations and influences in such a manner that will induce the owners of American wealth, and the great minds controlling industry, to be much more concerned about the safety of wealth already garnered, and the industry already founded, than the making of an unusual and immoral future profit:
That capitalism, instead of striving to satisfy human selfishness, will be eager to lend itself for the public welfare:
That capital and labor combined may then have power of initiative in business enterprises, free from such restrictive laws as the Sherman Anti-trust law; their rights should be respected in corporate industrialism, if the American people are to enjoy personal liberty and to have individual ambition to thrive and do well:
That both capital and labor may then derive Constitutional justice in such measurement as to make it naturally impossible for strikes and lockouts to occur:
That our industrial and agricultural workers might abhor the thought of direct action to obtain a recognizance of the rights fundamentally belonging to labor:
That labor organizations may be more anxious to please the consumers of their product than to have their minds centered upon higher wages and less hours:
That the loss of human vitality, accumulating each day as the laborer toils, may, in old age, be accounted and paid for in the exact ratio and proportion as he had given production to the community in his working days:
That labor, then having the power to conserve its own integrity, may inherit the fruits of labor as Abraham Lincoln foretold in his famous saying that "labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not existed first. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration."

## THE NATURAL LAW MUST BE OBEYED

And realizing that no State taxes good-will, nor is it considered in the make-up of valuation in any State of the Union, in the ultimate we must face Government ownership and a new system of taxation. And Government ownership can only be founded and built up on three well-recognized bases of the natural law.
Concentration by a bureaucratic ruling power, such as obtains in Germany:
Confiscation, the anarchy of Socialism-Bolshevikism:
De-centralization, Jeffersonianism, the sentiment and expression in words which the American mind accepts as representing the natural law of distribution, i.e., that all the heirs should enjoy the distribution of the family fortune instead of but one; distribution of lands and

incomes, the product of the laborers, with governmental opportunities to all of the people to enjoy distribution rather than that special privileges and monopoly should be given to the few. In fact, the distributing economics we know of and accept in the one word—Americanism. The three forms of Government ownership more distinctly stated are as follows.

(1) The German system, as developed in the Reichstag from 1874 to 1884, was largely based upon the thought of Rodbertus, i.e., an imperial power to control industrial concentration, with an evolutionary period of centuries to bring about a more equal distribution of productions to the working classes. This proposition was intended to allay and to escape the thought of Marxian socialism coming to Germany, and although 4,500,000 of German voters supported socialism, it was State socialism and a far different proposition from that founded by Karl Marx.

In Germany the rule has been that the child at four years of age is given over for six days of the week to the school-master and to the minister on the seventh. Each student is educated on lines for special vocational work, and when school and university days are over, the State gives place for employment wherein the citizen becomes the serf to an autocracy installed until death relieves him from his cares. The German system of Government ownership gives no room for individual initiative to thrive and do well to satisfy human ambition. In our nation we recognize what this principle means and we should never forget it, yet, with its undoubted success, our Postal system is founded and operated on the same lines as the German system.

(2) The socialist proposition for Government ownership is founded on the natural law of confiscation, brought about by an era of intense concentration. It offers no pretense to compensate former owners for property taken over by the State, nor to establish a central power to govern. It is based upon a fallacious doctrine that publicly used property belongs only to the public, and that anyone desiring work may take any opening presented, without any further provision than that public property is for use and not for profit. Bolshevikism and the Russian nation are telling the tale by the anarchy installed.

(3) The Jeffersonian plan, based upon decentralization, may be used to represent the American thought for Government ownership, because it is in harmony with the Federal Constitution as a governing power. The other two plans, one based upon autocracy under a government ruled by bureaucracy, and the other based upon confiscation with no governing power at all, are both abhorrent to the ethics and to the ideals inherent to our people and to the check and balance system upon which our Government is founded.

The *New York American*, in an editorial dated July 6th, 1918, says, "After we have taken over the railroads, the ships, the telegraphs and telephones, we should at once proceed to take into public possession the coal mines, the oil deposits, the forests and the water powers. . . . We must have Government ownership of these vital factors of business and must operate them solely for the interest of the whole people. . . . One of two things we surely will have. We will either have State socialism, controlling all the affairs of the nation and of the individual, or we will have public ownership of those things which are of right and in their nature public, combined with private ownership of those things which are of right and in their nature private. We will have either a judicious and healthful radicalism, or we will have a revolutionary socialism in our political and economic affairs."

The *New York American* unfortunately is assertive; seldom specific in its phrases. This paper rarely tells how its proposals and purposes are to be accomplished. Our people want neither the German system of Government ownership nor the Marxian system of Socialism. Neither of these two systems conform to the ethics and ideals of the American theory of Government. One would end in the worst form of bureaucracy;

the other would end in anarchy and destruction. Thomas Jefferson's principles for decentralization conform to the Constitution by the Government owning the value of actual capital assets of the corporations for bonds issued, i.e., "To borrow money on the credit of the United States: To regulate commerce among the States." *

Mr. Hearst and his papers should declare what form of Government ownership he and his papers want. (1) German State socialism based upon concentration of power. (2) Marxian socialism based upon confiscation with no compensation to owners for property taken over by Government. (3) The American form of Government ownership based upon decentralization with full payment for inventoried capital assets of corporations, tabulated as for new replacement of such property. If we must go to Government ownership, our faith is predominant that the American people will choose the American plan rather than submit to Autocracy in government or the anarchy desired by the socialist.

Under Article 1, section 8, Congress, with the approval of the President, has power in time of war to install the American thought for Government ownership, so that the present administration, and the succeeding administrations, too, may gain additional prestige and political power. President Lincoln in time of war proclaimed emancipation to an enslaved race, but in 1865 this nation found it necessary to add the 13th Amendment to the Constitution to make President Lincoln's words good. Because of war, we have the same opportunity now to create Government ownership to free actual capital from confiscation; to free industrial workers from a serfdom more galling than slavery itself; and, best of all, to free the consumers from the bondage they are now under to pay the price for commodities the corporations please to charge. After the war the people have power to add the Geometric Tax amendments to the Constitution to make the war act for Government ownership good and inflexible to rule the American nation on lines of right rather than by the might possessed by concentration of power.

The warning is plain. Concentration of power is now secretly maneuvering to obtain the mastery over the people in the coming Government ownership enactments. It was so in 1808 when the U. S. Supreme Court judicially declared in the Madison-Marbury case that it had power to rule whether a statute law was constitutional or unconstitutional. The Constitution gave the Supreme Court no such power, but, to preserve its dignity as one of the three erected powers under the Constitution, the Court is compelled to exercise its powers when the people have failed in their plain duty to add amendments to the Constitution, covering the particular point in law needed by the Court.

Also, in cases 164 U. S. 686, 113 U. S. 396 and 119 U. S. 110, the Court decided that corporations were citizens and persons and that the corporations had the same rights in law as the natural person. In other words, that the one stick representing the natural citizen, and the concrete bundle of sticks, representing a collective number of persons, each had the same rights in commercial enterprises. The fault of this decision, never corrected by the people, was that the concentration of the bundle had power to destroy the natural person in business; and today the citizen cannot do business at all in competition with the corporations.

The people, on this question of Government ownership, must decide for themselves if they are to retain the benefits coming to the nation by the reconstruction of the times. The Hearst newspapers, with other interests contemplating professional and better financial returns for capital and labor, are advocating Government ownership based upon concentration of power—the German system. In opposition to this plan of governmental care under State socialism, the American Constitutional Alliance is advocating decentralization—i.e., Jeffersonianism—as the people's plan for Government ownership.

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* The Constitution, Article 1, Section 8.

# THE CALL FOR STATE SOCIALISM

Legislation at Washington, at State capitals, and the planks in municipal political platforms, all have a tendency to advocate government and municipal ownership of utilities, mines, forests, railroads, shipping, manufacturing plants, corporate business now established as trusts, and which includes such commodities as foods, feeds, milk, meat products, cottons, woolens, shoes, steel, paper, and, in fact, if necessary, all articles wanted by man for use to live or luxury for comfort.

If the American people install government and municipal ownership, and give the control of all utilities and the manufacture and sale of all commodities to governmental agencies to supply the wants of the American people, then we must accept the force and power of State Socialism, or, in other words, Prussianism, the bureaucratic rule which the world today is so bitterly fighting Germany to destroy. State Socialism is but a step toward Scientific Socialism with all its materialism, atheism, and social, political and business anarchy; because, as human ambition is never satisfied until the ultimate desire is reached, we must prepare ourselves for the next step in socialist procedure—the repudiation of the interest due on the bonds issued by government, when it took over the properties from private ownership. This action would be a death-blow to Americanism, as founded by our forefathers to preserve the principle of the profit system and to hold to the inviolability of the right of private ownership of property.

To back up our words we have only to incorporate what Senator Harding of Ohio says in an article published in the New York Times, August 12th, 1917, as follows: "What the United States needs and what it must have if it is to win the war is a supreme dictator with sole control of and sole responsibility for every phase of war activity, and this means today practically every phase of government. More than that; not only does this country need such a dictator, but in my opinion it is sure to have one before the war goes much further. It is the inevitable logic of events here in Washington." Also, these words of Senator Newlands of Nevada in the New York Times of July 29th, 1917, as follows: "It is a reasonable prediction that no industry which is taken over by the Government will ever go back to private ownership. . . . For example, the coal operators met at the invitation of the Government and discussed prices, a thing they hardly would have dared to do before the war. And as to railroads, the Government, by law, has authorized the appointment of an Executive Committee by all the roads for the purpose of co-ordinating their energies. This thing would have been open to suspicion, to say the least, before the war. So, you see, the tendency of war conditions is to substitute for penalization of combinations a control and regulation of combinations. If this proves successful and results to public advantage it will be continued after the war. And collectivism in Government will encourage a regulated collectivism in industry."

The American people are now at the cross-roads of fate. Our splendid Republic, because of concentration, is now held by the powers of war, and by the industrial and financial forces, too, in the balance. Hence, whether we are to go rushing on to be finally encompassed by the anarchy of democracy—Socialism—or, as patriots for self-preservation, we wake up and by amendment put distribution in the Constitution, whereby, in giving to the laborer the full product of his labor, we distribute the future production of wealth to the affinities entitled to it. The corporate law of the States give, except the right of electing the Board of Directors, no private right of control over corporations, whether they may be large or small. All persons, as capitalists or workers, when engaged in corporate activities, give up and renounce their private rights in business affairs and do agree at the very beginning, when taking up their life and work for their corporation, that every capitalistic and industrial action shall be controlled by the laws of the State in which they were incorporated and

not by individual license to conserve private selfishness as against the public welfare. Because of this we must have a rightful division of all future earnings coming to capital and labor from the consumers. Because of its autocratic power, the Federal Constitution must stand as the arbitrator to control and distribute these earnings, as the American people have no other power but that of themselves as sovereigns to rule. This power cannot come from any other source, nor can Americanism be saved but by the use of this power. Why should not this nation, in this hour of doubt, the turbulence of war, the greed for undue profits because of war, install the principle of Thomas Jefferson—the Geometric Tax—before it rushes headlong into Socialism? What we want to do most is to save Americanism and the Constitution for the preservation and the protection of our American posterity.

However, the adherents of Karl Marx say that Socialism holds the cure, yet, we may ask, What does Socialism offer by the way of government control? If we accept that it is a reasonable economic thought we must accept, too, that it is government ownership under State Socialism, or, to accede to the demand that a co-operative commonwealth be established to govern and the taking over, without compensation to present ownership, all the means of production, distribution and exchange. In other words, the whole scheme is built upon the base of vulgar and cheap confiscation, a principle that must be accomplished by revolution and civil war. Its plan of government would eliminate private ownership of publicly used wealth and the abolishment of the profit system. A proposition easily said but not at all easy to put in operation. It furthermore would permit no veto power over its legislation made from day to day, and no security could possibly be given to the citizen for the protection of environment nor for the savings of his labor. Therefore, it opposes the American constitutional form of government both relatively and absolutely. Relatively because it is a so-called democracy, having no principle of centralization to bring matters and things to a settlement at the time of ultimate crises; and absolutely because its anarchy of democracy would never permit the autocracy of the people to rule by inflexible consent in words as is the principle now instituted in the Federal Constitution.

Therefore, Americanism means the profit system to give to the workers an opportunity of reward to live. Socialism means that no individual opportunity of reward shall be given to the working class so that they may live. All must work collectively for individual reward, trusting to the honesty of administrative distribution. In other words, all Socialists are to be regarded as angels in purity, and that Socialism means that no graft can exist in Socialist life. What child-like absurdity this would be to compare with the check and balance system of our Americanism which means, if it means anything at all, that every citizen may have the freedom of individual initiative in the construction and direction of business and political enterprises, holding inviolate the Constitutional right that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." Socialism means a government with no centralization adopted; no interest paid on bonds or notes; no dividends to the owners of stock shares; no fees for professional service; no commissions for selling another man's goods; no rents shall be collected from real estate property; no profits from public or commercial transactions; no wages are to be paid, as the Socialist cry has always been "death to wage slavery." But with a grandiloquent declaration for government ownership, presenting no predetermined plan which Americanism gives, backed by the constitutional power of the "supreme law of the land," to bring its activities to fulfillment, whereby the owner of property shall obtain a just return upon money invested; the worker likewise to obtain the reward cheerful and willing consumers give so that he may live; the consumer to enjoy that satisfaction which comes from having a plentiful supply of food, clothing, shelter and luxuries at a cost within the income granted by other consumers for the goods he individually produces.

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# ORGANIZATIO

## PURPOSES AND PLANS OF

## AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL A

(1) The American Constitutional Alliance was
ican patriots for the purpose of creating an influen
legislative and political actions;

(2) To induce a more general knowledge of the ideals of Americanism, eminating from the Federal Constitution, and to advance the belief that the fundamental governing power of the nation should be grounded within the Constitution in fact, as well as theory, and should not be created by the legislatures of the several states, nor by Congress;

(3) To induce the sovereign people to take upon themselves a mentorship over men desiring public office and places of responsibility in American political affairs, so that the Government need not be afflicted by politicians seeking positions for self-aggrandizement only;

(4) To oppose government by Bureaucracy, the antithesis of self-government as established by the Federal Constitution;

(5) To secure the recognition of the Federal Constitution as the "supreme law of the land," representing the will of the people as the sole governing power, so that under it and its amendments, the Nation may become more and more actually self-governing;

(6) To defend the rights of private ownership of property and the maintenance of the profit system;

(7) To recognize that corporations derive their chartered powers from the State—the people—and that they should therefore be governed by the laws of the people and not by the absentee capitalist nor by a bureaucratic form of labor unionism;

(8) To promulgate the abolishing of the Hamiltonian theory of taxation, *i.e.*, that government should be supported in the last analysis by an indirect tax upon consumption; and in its place, secure the adoption of the Jeffersonian theory of a direct tax upon profits and incomes. To prevent these taxes from being shifted to the backs of the consumers, the American Constitutional Alliance advocates that the mathematics belonging to the Geometric Tax principle be so applied that equity and justice may thereby be dispensed to every American citizen in the exact proportion as each is entitled to it through the government installed by its citizenry;

(9) To accord persuasion, through enlightenment and constitutional provision, a governing power superior to that of legislative concentration, the American Constitutional Alliance advocates that the American people add the Geometric Tax amendments to the Constitution, so that an inflexible rule governing distribution may be created and thereby support the morals of that which is an integral part of pure ethics in government.

(10) Therefore, to preserve the good created in the nineteenth century for the use of the civilization of the future, the American Constitutional Alliance calls upon true Americans, with real patriotism in their souls, to come forward and form club Alliances, each center electing a member to the State Executive Committee and permit the Chairman of this committee to automatically take his place as a member of the National Executive Committee stationed at New York City.

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The American Constitutional Alliance believes that the Geometric Tax on incomes and profits, in connection with its plan for Government Ownership, will give to the National Government an income of more than $5,000,000,000 annually, without hurt or reaction to the American people. Send 20 cents in stamps to the Anti-Socialist Press, 117 West 132d Street, New York, for a copy of "Americanism, A Contrast to Single Tax and Socialism," and a copy of "The Menace of the I. W. W.," with the remedy specifically outlined to cure all troubles now existing between capital and labor and for the safety of American wealth to its owners. THESE TWO BOOKS HOLD THE KEYS TO UNLOCK THE MYSTERIES SURROUNDING THE DEMOCRATIC FORM OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

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